

Carter: Arms will pass Congress

CRANSTON, Rhode Island, Feb. 17 (R). — President Carter said today he believed Congress would support his plan to sell war planes to Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Israel. At a televised press conference at the start of a New England speaking tour, Mr. Carter defended the proposal to sell 50 F-5E planes to Egypt, describing Egypt as one of America's "staunchest allies." The F-5E's proposed for Egypt were not nearly as advanced as the planes earmarked for Israel, he said. The semi-official Cairo newspaper Al-Ahram reported today that War Minister General Mohammad Abdel Ghani Gamassi would visit Washington soon to discuss Egypt's war needs.

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Owen will visit Amman Feb. 26

LONDON, Feb. 17 (R). — British Foreign Secretary David Owen will pay official visits to Jordan and Israel later this month, informed British sources said today. "Dr. Owen will visit Amman from Feb. 24 to 26 and Israel from Feb. 26 to 28, Assistant Secretary of State Alfred Atherton may also visit Jordan when he flies to the region next week, the State Department said today. Mr. Atherton arrives in Jerusalem on Monday to begin a shuttle between Israel and Egypt aimed at reaching a statement on principles for a Middle East peace settlement.

Topic of discussion at science conference

Selectivity and adaptation are keys to productive transfer of technology

this second and concluding article of our series, the Jordan Times examines some of the complexities behind the question of transferring technology from industrial states to developing countries such as Jordan, a topic that will figure prominently in the national science and technology policy conference that opens here this morning. On page 3, in another article, we examine the background to the conference.

By Jenab Tutunji
Special to the Jordan Times

One of the fundamental issues that a national science technology policy will have to deal with is the transfer of technology from the developed industrial nations to the developing countries. The transfer of technology is an ongoing process, whether we like it or not. Results have not always been desirable. We know-how or technology may be transmitted through a patent, a manual, a production specification, a layout, or such technology may be embodied in intermediate capital goods imported abroad or passed on in process of the training of personnel from the developing country. Certain processes or machines may embody engineering criteria with built-in constraints, such as a capital ratio that is unfavorable for a country with abundant labor but that is scarce in capital. For instance, as one of the authors to be read at the conference will point out, it is estimated that if Ethiopia wanted to equip its labor force to produce 100,000 tons of cotton cloth, only 10 percent of the Ethiopian labor force would be employed. To attempt to match the standards that Britain affords, while maintaining employment, would require capital outlay amounting to 100 times Ethiopia's entire Gross Domestic Product.

So far, little thought and effort have gone into adapting machines or processes designed by and for the developed countries to suit the needs of this country. This state of affairs usually prevails in developing countries due to the absence of an indigenous capability for adaptation through a fund of local know-how. At a certain stage of development, developing countries grappling with balance of payments difficulties establish import-substituting industries. Due to the absence of a local technological base, this usually involves final product import substitution, i.e., such industries are based on the transformation of intermediate or capital goods products purchased from the sellers of technology in industrialized countries into finished products for which there is a demand in the local market.

For instance, the Jordanian batteries manufacturing company and the local pharmaceuticals firm are of this nature. The local pharmaceuticals industry basically imports drugs from abroad, puts them in tablet or capsule form, and bottles and packages the final product, using machines imported from abroad to do so. The value added locally and the technology filtering into the economy are quite limited. It is only recently that the pharmaceuticals industry has started units to do research. To the credit of this industry it is not only import substituting but has become export-oriented, not due to technological innovations but sound business practices, having taken advantage of protective governmental tariffs to establish itself; it now produces products that are competitive in quality and price on the world market. Most import-substituting industries in Jordan are not as fortunate. A good deal of Jordan's industry nevertheless depends on import substitution, according to Dr. Saket. Dr. Jawad Anani, Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Labor and previously head of the economics research department of the Central Bank, says most industrial concerns in Jordan operate under franchises from firms abroad, and have only survived under import-substituting protection. Private enterprises in the developing countries gravitate towards this sort of industry, motivated by quick profits, ease of operation and the small nature of risk involved, Dr. Saket explains. "It is easier to adapt yourself to a foreign technology and accept its constraints than to modify it," Dr. Anani observes. Protective tariff walls shield such industries from foreign competition. "Private industries in Jordan are of two kinds," Dr. Anani remarks. "Some firms rely heavily on governmental protection and the monopolistic situation made available to them through tariff walls. This is not conducive to better quality at lower prices.

Such industries are not interested in technological innovations. It is competition that provides a beneficial environment for such innovations." On the other hand, there are industries motivated by a proper entrepreneurial spirit which have reached the point where they do not need the tariff walls, such as the polymers and pharmaceuticals firms. An inter-industry relationship Dr. Anani suggests that a more viable and more advanced industrial base can be created in Jordan. He suggests that Jordan start its own industrial base utilizing available resources in the industry, taking into account operative constraints and circumstances. Dr. Anani feels that it is imperative to create a system of "forward and backward linkages", largely absent at present, where the output of one industry will be used by other industries as their raw material or intermediate products. Output must be adapted to meet needs of other sections of local industry, and inputs must be adapted to utilize available resources. As Jordanian industry attempts this, it will run into bottlenecks which will require the adaptation of industrial processes or existing machinery to local needs and circumstances. This will require indigenous technological innovations; in other words, we will have to make our own innovations that will enable the country to devise technological packages which can be instrumental in the creation and growth of an indigenous industry. "We want to create an inter-industry relationship where there is demand by one industry for the products of the other, and this is where adaptation of technology can find breathing space. Once we have established an inter-industry line then we can determine what our technological needs are," Dr. Anani explains. (Continued on page 3)

Special Dayan back in Israel, U.S. envoy expects military talks to be renewed

in Addis Ababa

WASHINGTON, Feb. 17 (R). — A special envoy from President Carter met Ethiopia's Marxist military ruler in Addis Ababa today as the United States reported a continuing Cuban buildup in support of Ethiopian forces battling on two fronts. Mr. David Aaron, the President's Deputy Assistant for National Security, conferred with Lieut. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam in the wake of a warning by Mr. Carter that any crossing of Somalia's borders by Ethiopian troops would be viewed by America as a serious threat to world peace. The U.S. State Department said Cuba had an estimated 5,000 military advisers in Ethiopia and was sending more to help in the struggle against Eritrean independence forces as well as Somali forces fighting over the Ogaden Desert region. This was an increase of 2,000 over the Cuban figure given last week by Secretary of State Cyrus Vance. The State Department also reported that about 1,000 Soviet advisers were still in Ethiopia. In an interview with a group of editors yesterday and released for publication today, Mr. Carter reaffirmed the U.S. refusal to supply arms to either country as Ethiopian troops pushed Somali forces in the Ogaden Desert. "We have called on Somalia to withdraw from Ethiopian territory out of the Ogaden area," Mr. Carter said. Mr. Aaron's mission was portrayed by U.S. officials as a further effort to promote a peace settlement in the Ethiopia-Somalia conflict and to gain a better understanding of Ethiopian views. Addis Ababa radio reported that in a speech to the U.S. visitors, Col. Mengistu repeatedly reaffirmed that for peace to be restored to the Horn of Africa the reactionary Somali government's invading troops would have to be withdrawn from Ethiopian territory immediately. Meanwhile in Rabat today, the Secretary General of the Western Somalia Liberation Front (WSLF), Mr. Abdullah Hassan Mahmoud said that Arab volunteers are not needed by Somali forces fighting Ethiopian troops in the Ogaden. But Mr. Mahmoud, on a tour of Libya told a news conference he hoped Arab states would contribute arms, financial aid, medical supplies and food to the Somali forces.

TEL AVIV, Feb. 17 (Agencies). — Israel's Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan returned home tonight from a 10-day tour of the United States during which he sought to muster official and public support for Prime Minister Menachem Begin's policies.

Mr. Dayan made no statement on arrival but he told Israel Radio in an interview during the flight that Israel took a very grim view of recent actions by the Carter administration. The foreign minister cited the U.S. administration's decision to sell warplanes to Egypt and Saudi Arabia and its attitudes towards Israeli settlements in the Sinai desert and withdrawal from occupied Arab territory. M. Dayan said U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Alfred Atherton's return to the region next week marked a new phase in Israeli-Egyptian peace negotiations. He said he thought the military talks between the two countries would also be renewed.

Defence Minister Ezer Weizman hinted tonight that President Carter's plan to sell warplanes to Egypt and Saudi Arabia would force Israel to harden its position in peace talks with Cairo. Interviewed on Israel television, he said the move to sell 50 F-5E jet fighters to Egypt and 60 F-15 fighters to Saudi Arabia was a "bad tactical move by Washington which will have repercussions on our talks with the Egyptians."

Carter starts New England speaking tour

WASHINGTON, Feb. 17 (R). — President Carter sets out today on a campaign-style speaking tour in New England to test his popularity as Americans ponder controversial decisions on the Middle East, the Panama Canal issue and domestic questions.

The trip to three states will last only 24 hours but involve four major appearances by Mr. Carter in support of his policies, some of which are attacked in Congress. Public opinion polls report his popularity has slipped considerably in recent months. Polls say many Americans neither approve nor disapprove his record, indicating that voters are baffled and do not really understand the man they elected president 15 months ago. For Mr. Carter, the two-day speaking tour will be an opportunity to sound out reaction to his new Middle East arms package -- the proposed sale of warplanes to Egypt and Saudi Arabia as well as to Israel -- which has angered the Israelis and disturbed powerful congressmen. Other goals are to rally public opinion behind his energy policy, now languishing in Congress, and controversial treaties calling for the transfer of control of the Panama Canal to Panama in the year 2000.



Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan (right) meets President Carter in the Oval Office of the White House Thursday.

Mr. Weizman reported that the army was studying the strategic problem which would be posed by the acquisition of modern U.S. aircraft by its Arab foes. He said one issue to be reconsidered was the future of military air fields in Sinai which Prime Minister Begin is prepared to evacuate. Prime Minister Begin has come under sharp attack from his predecessor, Yitzhak Rabin, who accused him of "childish" diplomacy and failure to understand U.S. policy. The former prime minister also accused the government of setting up Jewish settlements in occupied Arab lands "in disguise" by attaching them to military bases or labelling them "archaeological expeditions." He was referring in particular to the controversial settlement at Shiloh. In a speech yesterday, Mr. Rabin called Mr. Begin's attempts to rely on international law to justify the Shiloh settlements "childish."

Egypt, Kenya settle row over intercepted planes

CAIRO, Feb. 17 (R). — Egypt and Kenya today exchanged intercepted airliners, settling a row which blew up over Kenyan allegations that Egypt was delivering arms to Somalia. Kenya stated the dispute on Wednesday when its fighters forced an Egypt Air Boeing 707 down in Nairobi. Kenya authorities said the plane was carrying 19 tons of shells for Soviet-made field guns to Mogadishu for use by Somali forces in the Ogaden war against Ethiopia. Egypt retaliated yesterday, holding one Kenya Airways Boeing 707 which made a scheduled stop at Cairo on a flight from Nairobi to London and forcing another from the air on a flight from London to Nairobi. Today's release of the three planes followed lengthy negotiations yesterday between the two governments, Egyptian Foreign Ministry officials said. "Egypt wanted to contain the crisis within the spirit of African friendship and cooperation," one official told reporters in Cairo today.

He said Kenyan authorities reloaded the plane's cargo and allowed them to leave Nairobi earlier today. He did not specify the contents of the cargo. Kenya, which sides with Ethiopia in the Ogaden conflict, said the Egyptian plane was the fourth detected flying across Kenyan territory towards Somalia without permission. Commenting on the seizure of the planes, the semi-official newspaper Al-Ahram today quoted Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Dr. Butros Butros Ghali as saying: "Egypt is keen to maintain its cordial relations with Kenya and this incident has no political dimensions." It said Dr. Ghali, who held three meetings with the Kenyan ambassador to Egypt yesterday, also met the Somali ambassador, Mr. Abdul Rahman Farah. Dr. Ghali explained to Mr. Farah Egypt's desire to resolve the Ethiopian-Somali conflict peacefully, the newspaper said.

Lebanese situation defused as NLP leaders disavow statement

UT, Feb. 17 (R). — Right-leader Camille Chamoun and on Dory today dissociated themselves from a statement issued by the National Liberal Party (NLP) accusing Syria of preparing an offensive against Lebanon's rights. The statement, issued last by the NLP's foreign department, said: "A concentration of Syrian troops estimated at 18,000 men, tanks and heavy artillery was observed today (Friday) afternoon on a line extending east Beirut for the purpose of isolating the traditional Christian mountain areas."

His son Dory, Secretary General of the NLP, commenting on last night's statement said this declaration did not go out of my office nor out of the office of President Chamoun. Life in east Beirut, where fierce Lebanese-Syrian fighting erupted last week, was returning to normal but schools remained closed. Lebanese and Syrian military investigators today began probing the causes of last week's bloody street fighting in Beirut and a leading member of parliament urged the government to "set up the gallows."

More than 150 people died when Lebanese troops and right-wing militiamen fought Syrian army peace-keepers for four days in east Beirut last week. Parliament passed a special law authorizing a joint Syrian-Lebanese investigation. The national news agency reported today that the joint commission of inquiry began its work shortly after being sworn in. The panel will report to a special security court, appointed yesterday by President Elias Sarkis. The court is composed of three Syrian officers, a Lebanese officer and a Lebanese judge. It can impose the death penalty, but President Sarkis has the right to commute the sentences. Mr. Nazem Kadri, Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Administration and Justice, was quoted by the French language newspaper Le Monde today as saying: "The only solution at this late stage is to set up the gallows and put an end to the gangs which are trying to explode the situation."

Mr. Adel Osséiran, a former speaker of parliament was quoted as saying: "The death sentence must be passed, and all sentences must be implemented."

Smith discusses suspending parliament with black leaders

SALISBURY, Feb. 17 (R). — Black and white Rhodesian leaders today discussed the possible suspension of the country's white-dominated parliament in the run-up period to majority rule, informed sources said. The United African National Council (UANC) of Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the Zimbabwe United Peoples' Union (ZAPU) of Chief Jeremiah Chirau and the African National Council (ANC) of the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole all believed that the suspension of parliament would help sell the internal settlement to blacks in Rhodesia and to outside influences, the sources said. "If parliament, with 50 of its 66 seats held by (Premier Ian) Smith's Rhodesian Front, was to continue to sit throughout the transitional period it would look as if the nationalists were acquiescing in the present regime," one source stated. The black and white leaders met for 2 hours in private talks. A statement afterwards said they had discussed "the composition and functions of the transitional government." Mr. Smith told reporters progress had been made. Rhodesian nationalist leader Joshua Nkomo today condemned the settlement agreement as the "biggest sell-out in the history of Africa" and vowed it would never be implemented. "Never shall this thing be realised," he told a news conference. British Foreign Secretary David Owen said in London last night that the internal settlement in Rhodesia represented a significant advance but that one of the main problems was the exclusion of the guerrilla leaders. "Maybe, with Britain, the United States and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) could in fact help to bring the Patriotic Front into negotiations," he said. The U.S. state development said the internal agreement might have "growth potential."

Mr. Haldeman, now, 51, is finishing a 30-month sentence in a California federal prison for Watergate offences, including lying to the Senate that he nor the president knew about the break-in. Mr. Haldeman also claims that Mr. Nixon instituted the taping of conversations in his own White House office in order to keep Secretary of State Henry Kissinger honest. He said that within the White House, Dr. Kissinger was "the hawk of hawks" and outside he was a dove, pretending that Mr. Nixon was the one making the unpopular decisions. Mr. Haldeman also claims that in 1969, the Soviet Union moved 1,800 nuclear-tipped missiles within three kms. of the Ussuri River border with China and made overtures for the U.S. to join it in a nuclear strike against China's atomic plants. He says that the Russians threatened to attack China on their own -- and that if they did, it would have resulted in the deaths of millions, not only in China, but in Japan and the Soviet Union as well. But he says the Soviets backed down after behind-the-scenes moves by Mr. Nixon. Dr. Kissinger yesterday denied Haldeman's account. Mr. Haldeman also said that the Nixon administration, through quiet diplomacy and pressure, forced the Soviet Union to dismantle a nuclear naval base it was building in Cuba in 1970. The Soviet news agency TASS today rejected as "a lie from beginning to end" claims by Mr. Haldeman that it had planned a nuclear strike on China. The Kremlin agency made no reference to another claim in Haldeman's book that President Nixon forced the Soviet Union to back down from building a naval base in Cuba in 1970.

Haldeman: Nixon saved the world

NEW YORK, Feb. 17 (R). — Former White House Chief of Staff H.R. "Bob" Haldeman, who once called himself Richard Nixon's robot, has accused him of instigating the Watergate break-in which led to the president's disgrace and unprecedented resignation. Mr. Haldeman, jailed for his part in the scandal, also says in his book "The Ends of Power" that Mr. Nixon was deeply involved from the start in the cover-up of the burglary at the Democratic Party headquarters in Washington's Watergate complex in 1972. In excerpts from the book released yesterday, Mr. Haldeman portrays Mr. Nixon as a potentially great statesman who twice saved the world from nuclear disaster. But he says the former president, who resigned in 1974 under threat of impeachment, was also a petty, vengeful paranoiac who was destroyed by his "dirty, mean, base side."

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HALLOUD ENDS

REMLIN TALKS

COW, Feb. 17 (R). — So-Prime Minister Alexei and Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi today held a final day of talks in Moscow. Mr. Gaddafi, one of the five sons of the ruling General Muammar, arrived in the city on Tuesday. He has had talks with Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev and Defence Minister Dmitri Ustinov.

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Editor: RAMI G. KHOURI
Managing Editor: JENAB TUTUNJI
Deputy Managing Editor: RASSAM BISHUTI
Editorial Staff: ALAN MARTINY
Board of Directors: JUMA'A HAMAD, RAJA ELISSA, MOHAMAD AMAD, MAHMOUD AL KAYED
Responsible Editor: MOHAMAD AMAD

Editorial and advertising offices:

Jordan Press Foundation
 University Road, P.O. Box 6710, Amman, Jordan
 Telephones: 67171-2-3-4
 Fax: 1497 Al Rai JO, Cables: JORTIMES, Amman Jordan

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Two hands clap better than one

The national science and technology policy conference that opens here today gives us cause for both hope and concern. It evokes hope because it is the kind of meeting that can do much to advance the processes of social and economic development in Jordan, particularly in view of the diligent advance preparation that has been done, and also in view of the rather heavyweight array of local and foreign participants in the conference.

But the event also causes us some concern, because we have seen too many cases in the past when large and impressive meetings were poorly followed up. In this case, the conference is sure to be a valuable forum for an exchange of ideas and for the formulation of a more or less complete and cohesive national science and research policy. As the Director-General of the Royal Scientific Society, Dr. Albert Butros, has said, Jordan is particularly conducive to this sort of coordinated approach on a national level because of the manageable scale of things in this country.

What we shall be particularly eager to see is a meaningful mechanism by which the work of the conference this week is properly followed up and its recommendations implemented. What this will require is some sort of loose coordinating body under the aegis of the national government, to provide the all-important administrative structure, but what is probably more important -- indeed, decisive -- in this case is a coherent response from the private sector in Jordan, especially in the transfer of technology in the industrial and commercial sectors of the economy, where the private sector of Jordan has taken advantage of the free-enterprise atmosphere fostered by the government, without, one thinks, playing its own full role in planning and coordinating with the pertinent state authorities.

Thus we suggest that the real onus of success in this area lies more with the private sector than with the government. The state has done its part in organizing this conference. It should now challenge the private sector in a clear and dynamic manner to do its part of the job.

ARAB PRESS COMMENTARY

AL RA'I and AL DUSTOUR Friday took up two focal points in the current Middle East crisis for their comment.

Al Ra'i thinks that Israel has foolishly decided to open a large-scale diplomatic offensive against President Jimmy Carter's administration through the two points of difference between Washington and Tel Aviv on settlements and armament.

The Israeli newspapers charge that the U.S. wants to create a situation whereby Israel would be unable to score a decisive victory over the Arabs, in the event of renewed fighting in the Middle East.

Israel, Al Ra'i says, only thinks in terms of war. Its determined insistence to go ahead with creating settlements, despite the world community's will, clearly means construction of advanced bases for its striking forces, in preparation for the zero hour.

Al Dustour questions the credibility of Mr. Begin's declaration Thursday that he welcomes the reconvening of the Geneva Middle East peace conference.

"Does Mr. Begin's call," Al Dustour asks, "mean that Israel wants to shelve its discussions with Egypt and instead prefers to go to Geneva?" And if it is so, what will be Israel's position regarding its opposition to the participation of Palestinians in the conference, and its avowed suspicion of the Soviet Union's role as a co-chairman of the Geneva conference?, the newspaper again asks.

Badran says

Yarmouk aims to "humanise sciences"

By Ian Kellas
 Special to the Jordan Times

AMMAN, Feb. 17 — "We hope to humanise the sciences, really," Dr. Adnan Badran told the Jordan Times last night.

The man in charge of what must be Jordan's biggest science and technology project had just been giving an open lecture at the British Council, about the development of Yarmouk University, of which he is the president.

Surrounded by suitably technical-looking plans and diagrams, Dr. Badran sketched a picture of a giant developmental community centre in the north of Jordan, which will in some ways be very different from a conventional university.

A large part of the university campus, for instance, will be taken up by a factory. The factory is to build the university, using special prefabricated blocks. There are no ivory towers in the masterplan.

Other features of the university are a small farm, a school for the 1,500 or so families who will live on the site, a lake, a hospital to serve the whole region, a 300-bed hotel, an Islamic centre and a discotheque.

Technical emphasis

The emphasis of the university is on the sciences and technology. There will be no fewer than 6,500 students in the engineering faculty alone. But the teaching will not be confined to the classics B.A. or B.Sc. courses.

Part of the medical sciences faculty will be a nursing school, where it will be possible to undertake an 18-month training course. In the engineering faculty two-year technical-level courses, such as are usually to be found in polytechnics, will be on offer.

Students and staff will spend some of their time working outside the campus. Local field projects will be an important part of the courses in agriculture, for instance. But it is hoped that outsiders will also spend some of their time in the campus.

If they are ill, they will come to the hospital. If they are not, they may do athletic things in the enormous sports complex. Part time courses of all sorts will be arranged for them.

The university is on a big scale. There will be on-site accommodation for no fewer than 10,000 students, divided equally between men and women.

This is because Jordan has reached the stage where there is big demand for higher education. This year 20,000 Tawjihi students graduated from school. By 1990, they will probably number 75,000.

There are 50,000 Jordanians studying abroad at the moment (costing the country a great deal in hard currency).

Geared to needs

But there is a need to link this demand for education with the manpower requirements of the country. Hence the emphasis of the university on applied science and technology.

IRAQI TRANSPORT MINISTER HERE

AMMAN, Feb. 17 (JNA). — Prime Minister Mudar Badran yesterday received Iraqi Transport Minister Makram Jamal Al Talbani and the accompanying delegation and reviewed with them economic and commercial cooperation and facilities offered by Jordan to Iraqi goods imported through the Aqaba free zone. The meeting was also attended by Minister of Finance Mohammad Dabbas and the Iraqi ambassador to Jordan.

The Iraqi guest and the accompanying delegation will also visit the Aqaba port and the free zone.

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BUSINESS GRAPEVINE

compiled and edited by John Bonar

Keeping options open

With a planned need to acquire new aircraft in the early 1980's, the Royal Jordanian Airline, is keeping all its options open. Although executives of the airline have seen the Lockheed Tristar, the DC10 and of course the Boeing 747 which is already in service with Alia, Chairman Ali Ghandour is keeping more than half an eye open on the new technology and new aircraft that are being developed and could be in production by the time Alia is ready to purchase.

It is the U.S. Boeing has what it calls its New Airplane Programme, formerly variously known as 7X7, 7S7, 7N7 and 737, involving initially a twin engine 180-200 seater capable of being developed into a wider family of jets.

McDonnell Douglas has already begun work on its latest derivative of the DC-9, the Super 80 series and has collected some orders but has plans also for a larger aircraft, the 200 seat DC-X-200.

In Europe there is a variety of ideas but no practical programme as yet. British Aerospace has in own plan for a twin engine called the X-Eleven. In France Aerospatiale has

a broadly comparable plan for the AS-200. Both these companies, along with Messerschmitt and Fokker-VFW have been trying to find a common solution but have still to sort out the problems.

Meanwhile Alia has changed its mind at the last minute on its own fleet. Plans to sell off the airline's remaining 720B have been cancelled. Instead it will be overhauled and refurbished for longer life, greater safety and efficiency. The 707 which was until recently being used as an all cargo freighter is to be converted to a passenger aircraft to serve as a back up plane and to help out during the busy Haj season.

Earlier plans had been to lease a Boeing 727 from Tunis Air but this was abandoned because it was insufficient to meet operating requirements.

The conversion of the 707 to passenger service means that Alia now has no all-cargo aircraft. The bulk of Alia's freight operations now revolve around the 747 combi which carries a substantial amount of freight as well as passengers. The twice weekly jumbo jet service out of New York to Amman is carrying about 150,000 pounds weekly.

Cargo includes oil machinery,

vehicle parts, lubricants, hospital supplies, pharmaceuticals, chemicals, tobacco, frozen meat and most recently four small deer.

Alia is promoting the service in the U.S. as a regional service with back up trucking operations to other Middle East states. According to Alia cargo sales manager for North America Peter Sumner, "The final leg by truck arranged by Alia is speedier than by local regional flights because the trucks clear customs at highway border stations quicker than they would by air where a large backlog of goods awaits clearance through clogged airport customs points."

Alia's new cargo handling equipment.

On with the show

With plans underway to introduce Son et Lumiere entertainment in Jarash, the Tourism Ministry can expect to hear from an unusual new company formed in London, which has on its board of directors one of the world's best producers of Son et Lumiere shows, Christopher Ede.

The British have a worldwide reputation for ceremonies and

pageantry -- particularly when connected with history, art and prestige.

The new company, Wellington Entertainment, hope to profit from this by offering a range of talented experts in various fields. As well as Ede the directors include Harry Tate, specialist in the Jackman, fireworks, Chris Philip, who has produced spectacles in Bahrain and the Sultanate of Oman, Kenneth Simmonds whose company has won a film for the best of the year and Jack Maitland who organises that most modern form of mass entertainment -- air shows.

Reps on the spot

Middle East Materials and Equipment, the London based trade publication for the Middle East construction industry, have appointed Alma House in Amman as their advertising representatives for Jordan. Alma House's Media Representation Department also represents the International Hotel Middle East house magazine, Oasis and Johnston's publications Near East Business and Alam Atjarat.

Akhbar suspension rescinded

AMMAN, Feb. 17 (J.T.). — The decision of the military governor to suspend the Al Akhbar daily Arabic newspaper which was reported in National News Roundup in Friday's Jordan Times was rescinded late last night.

No reason was given for the change of decision which was originally taken because of Al Akhbar's contravention of instructions by the authorities not to publish advertisements for foreign job vacancies without prior permission.

A VILLA FOR RENT

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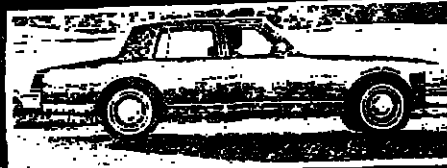
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Selectivity and adaptation are keys to productive transfer of technology

(Continued from page 1)

Bottlenecks are met by technological innovations and research.

Technology cannot always be imported and used as it is. Technology is not that rational and it often has to be adapted, Dr. Anani adds. Adaptation requires research.

"This is the line we should pursue. Nor do we have to devise entire packages at one time; technology is divisible, it can be parcelled -- it is not a question of either you have the knack or you don't," he says.

Jordan must nevertheless beware in the pursuit of industrial development against neglecting other vital sectors of the economy, such as agriculture. Industry all too often takes on an over-privileged position in developing countries at the expense of the agricultural and related sectors which are starved of funds, leading to one-sided development and creating economic and social problems. This is a question of priorities, and forms an integral part of science and technology policy. It is handled in detail in the priorities determination study which will be presented at the conference.

Problems with importing

Another problem with industrialisation through final product import substitution is that it does not reduce, in fact often increases, dependence on imported technology. Quite often there is a contractual agreement to purchase intermediate products or capital goods. At other times, the nature of the operation (for example, if one

is assembling cars) constrains the manufacturer to purchase or import components of a specific nature (e.g. car parts) over which the licensing company in the developed nation enjoys a monopoly.

For instance, a study of the pharmaceutical industry in Colombia estimated that the country paid something in the region of \$20 million in 1968 purely due to price differentials above those available in the international market for the same products. The question of intermediate product overpricing in a monopolistic situation presents a basic difficulty.

Again, in the case of the Colombian pharmaceutical industry, it was estimated that reported profits constituted a mere 3.4 per cent of effective returns; royalty payments amounted to 14 per cent of such returns, and "overpricing" ate up a staggering 82.6 per cent. Fortunately, this does not seem to be the case with the Jordanian pharmaceutical industry.

There is scope here for the government to come to the aid of private industry by setting up specialised agencies to help the buyers of technology negotiate better terms. The government, if it has the qualified personnel, could provide local firms with valuable information on the process or product they are purchasing, so that they will not be negotiating in the blind.

Japan and South Korea have such governmental services. One of the papers to be presented at the conference is by the president of the Korea Institute for Science and Technology (KIST) which provides consultations to private industry.

Government role

The government can help rationalise the import of technology, according to Dr. Saket. The government can do this at three levels: providing consultancy services, through regulations or legislation to control the process or through active participation in negotiations along with local firms.

Quite often private firms have to go through the government to obtain licences and to secure tax exemptions or other facilities. At such times, the government can stipulate that the firm adhere to certain procedures; for instance, it can advise the firm not to pay royalties in terms of a percentage of production or output or as a percentage of profits.

There is also wide scope for legislation to secure more advantageous terms for the developing country.

The indigenous capability of developing nations can be subcontracted by foreign firms, at the insistence of the local government, to adapt imported foreign technology to local needs and conditions. The government or firms hiring or contracting foreign companies can insist on a domestic counterpart, to the foreign companies which will introduce an appreciation of local needs and circumstances and will allow Jordanian firms to build up a stock of experience and know-how, as for example in the conduct of feasibility studies.

There is no reason why Jordanian companies with the requisite skills, wherever available and even if partial, cannot be brought into the picture, to work hand in hand with the more experienced foreign companies in the process acquiring techniques which will allow for an increase in the value added locally in future projects.

No one maintains that Jordan should stop importing technology. The point is that imported technology should be suitable or adapted to local needs. There is a good deal of variety available in imported technologies. What is required is intelligent choice.

Japan, which is an industrial power to be reckoned with, to this day imports more technology than it exports. The key is exercising intelligent control and a detailed understanding of the technology being imported. Dr. Anani suggests that probably the right

place to look for Jordan's technology imports is Japan, Korea and countries in Southeast Asia.

"The technology there is probably more suitable to us. Those countries have already passed through the stage of adapting Western technology to their needs," he says.

The RSS example

In Jordan, the outstanding feature of the transfer and adaptation of technology has been cooperation with the industrialised nations, and it is the public sector that has taken the initiative and the lion's share in settling up the institutions and providing the funds to do this. The Royal Scientific Society is probably the best example of such cooperation.

Dr. Albert Butros, Director General of the Royal Scientific Society, says: "Here at the RSS we have been cooperating for a long time with West German personnel in the fields of mechanical engineering, industrial chemistry and low-cost housing. A good part of it is in the form of technical assistance, but another good part is also in the form of actual cooperation in research, which is what we want to strengthen."

A good example of the attempt to adapt technology to Jordan's needs is the solar energy station in Aqaba, which is primarily a desalination project.

The West German government provided the major portion of the funds -- the rest came from the RSS. It is interesting that the grant was made jointly to the RSS and the West German Dornier Systems Company. The two are doing research jointly. This is an example of cooperation rather than simple technical assistance.

Dr. Butros points out that Jordan is playing three different roles in the area of the transfer of technology. First, it is a receiver of technology. Second, it cooperates in research science and technology-directed research with bodies outside Jordan. Finally, Jordan acts as a supplier of technical assistance and research capabilities to the region. It does not supply money, but it does supply technically-skilled manpower, "which, in my mind, is even more important," Dr. Butros adds.

This week's science, technology conference is culmination of 1½ years of preparation

By Jenab Tutunji
Special to the Jordan Times

How did the idea for such a conference originate? In late 1975, questions relating to the formulation of a science and technology policy for Jordan arose. Crown Prince Hassan started a series of meetings with local experts on the subject. Dr. Y. de Hemptinne, Director of the Division of Science and Technology Policies, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), Paris came on a working visit to Jordan to consult with Jordanian experts and offer his help.

It was decided that activities leading to a national policy for science and technology would be organised in a logical fashion. The first such activity was the May 1977 seminar on science and technology.

The May seminar reviewed the status quo in scientific activities and organisations. It covered various sectors, including health, agriculture, water resources, industry and mining, research and the institutions of higher learning in the Kingdom, energy, and information systems.

The seminar, which met for five days, involved about 120 participants from the private sector, professional institutions, public sector organisations, development experts, scientists and academicians.

The meeting served to clarify certain basic issues, such as the lack of a governmental institutional structure concerned with decision, planning, programming, control, coordination and finance in the area of science and technology.

It was pointed out that there was no national science and technology policy, and hence no plans for developing the country's research capabilities in this area or to provide guidelines for institutions concerned with research and development.

The seminar also highlighted the financial, infrastructural and organisational difficulties facing research, and the fact that whatever work was being done was not sufficiently relevant to Jordan's developmental targets.

It was recommended that a major conference be held on science and technology.

Decree issued

The prime minister issued

a decree forming a steering committee with two basic functions: to prepare for a national conference in February, and to prepare a national paper to be submitted to the secretary general of the United Nations conference on science and technology to be held late in 1979.

A 16-man steering committee was formed, including members from the National Planning Council, the Royal Scientific Society, the two universities, various government or autonomous agencies concerned with research or developmental planning and national resources, one representative of the Amman Chamber of Industry and another from the private sector.

This committee has been meeting once, often twice, a week since August 1977, and has issued the invitations for this week's conference. It has organised the conference and supervised the preparation of the five national papers to be presented.

Dr. Fakhrudine Daghestani describes the conference as a golden opportunity to combine the experiences of countries at various stages of development, each with its distinctive features.

"It will be like putting them all in one pot and coming up with a new alloy. Such an experience no one -- not even ten experts -- can give you." All of the material available at the end of the conference will be excellent for the subsequent effort to formulate a policy, he says.

It should also help create the will inside and outside Jordan to focus efforts on science and technology. The subsequent cooperation will be easier. The conference should boost bilateral, regional and international cooperation, and may serve as a model for future conferences in the region. There are plans to publish the papers read at the conference and the recommendations resulting from it.

Furthermore, in so far as the conference will recommend specific measures to be undertaken and help chart a path for the formulation of a future science and technology policy, it will automatically increase the likelihood of eliciting action from the government and decision-makers towards the adoption and execution of such a policy.

The potential is available in

Jordan, Dr. Daghestani says. It will take some time for a national policy on science and technology to bear fruit, but within five to seven years it should be a going concern.

International efforts

In addition to the local angle, there has been persistent prodding from the United Nations for developing countries to formulate national policies for science and technology. As has been mentioned, an international United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development (UNCSTD) is planned for late 1979 in Vienna.

Leading up to this, several regional and preparatory conferences have been held or are being organised on the subject.

The first preparatory regional meeting for UNCSTD was organised by the Economic Commission for Western Asia (ECWA) in Beirut, during December 1977, which Jordan attended. Another is scheduled for July 1978, also in Beirut. A third preparatory conference not on a regional level, will be held in September 1978 in New York. Finally, there will be a fourth preparatory conference

scheduled for February, most probably in Vienna.

At the regional level, EC is trying to organise the efforts of its members, to draw attention to the priorities scientific and technological search and to drive home the point that science and technology are no longer separate from the economic and development process.

Each of the countries in the Middle East will prepare and submit national papers for ECWA, which will then prepare a regional paper for UNCSTD. Each country in the region will also prepare a national paper for UNCSTD. Jordan is well ahead towards preparing a national paper for regional conference.

ABSURDITY'S LOOPHOLE

Editor's note: Bassam Bishara is on vacation this week. His regular weekly column, *absurdity's Loophole*, will not appear here as usual next Tuesday.

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Jimmy Carter's long Middle East ordeal

(Editor's note: The following is the full text of an article by Stanley Karnow in the Jan. 15, 1978 issue of the New York Times Magazine. The Jordan Times is reprinting it in full because of the interesting perspective it provides on the American position, and particularly that of U.S. President Carter, in the current Middle East peace-making efforts. Stanley Karnow is a Washington-based syndicated columnist specializing in foreign affairs.)

By Stanley Karnow

When Anwar Sadat's Egyptian jetliner touched down on Israeli soil last November, the diplomacy of the Middle East took its most dramatic turn in three decades. For the first time, the two principal protagonists in the region entered into face-to-face negotiations, and it was possible that the other Arabs might somehow be drawn into the process. Astonishing as the event itself, the breakthrough had been accomplished without the prior knowledge or even the behind-the-scenes influence of Jimmy Carter, despite the enormous attention he had devoted to the Middle East since he entered office. He and his aides were surprised, even hurt, and their feelings were reflected in the comment of the State Department specialist who referred to President Sadat and Prime Minister Menachem Begin as "unguided missiles" -- an admission that the United States had lost control.

That loss of control would be even more apparent during the weeks that followed -- and it is evident today. Despite Carter's public expressions of optimism, one of his senior advisers privately summed up the nervous mood in the White House when he told me: "If these negotiations don't work out, it will be 20 years before Israelis and Arabs talk to each other again." For all its power, though, the United States appears to have been reduced to an increasingly marginal role. Carter's advice has been repeatedly spurned by both Egypt and Israel, and his attempts to induce Jordan, Saudi Arabia and the Palestinians to cooperate have fared no better. He has lurched back and forth in a series of policy zigzags that have confounded the belligerents, perplexed many U.S. officials and antagonized a significant segment of American public opinion.

The full story of the diplomatic maneuvers that have produced the present situation has yet to be related in every aspect. But at this stage, two elements seem plain. The administration, perhaps inadvertently, contributed to the current thaw in relations between the Israelis and Arabs that had been frozen in the year before Carter entered office; despite their disagreements, they are at least discussing such formerly taboo subjects as the disposition of territory and the fate of the Palestinians. At the same time, however, Sadat's decision to deal directly with Begin seems to have punctured Carter's dream of bringing the Middle East parties together for a comprehensive settlement at Geneva. Questions are inevitable. To what extent has Carter been able to impose his will on the participants in the Middle East? Or has he, despite a tremendous investment of energy, been swept along by a momentum beyond his direction? And what, ultimately, are his chances of steering the hostile peoples of the area toward peace?

Within the past three months, I have interviewed dozens of administration officials, members of Congress, American Jewish activists, academic experts and Israeli and Arab diplomats in an effort, on behalf of The New York Times Magazine, to trace the roots and calculate the possibilities for success of Carter's Middle East policy. Out of these interviews, the dilemma that has dogged the President throughout his quest emerges in clear perspective.

CANDIDATE CARTER AND THE PROMISED LAND

Jimmy Carter has been trying to perform two incompatible roles. Mindful of the nation's global imperatives, he has sought to act as the honest broker between Israel and the Arabs. But domestic sentiment, the Government's commitments and his own feelings have conspired to make the preservation of Israel's security. His mediation efforts have aroused periodic fears in Israel that he favors the Arabs; his need to reassure Israel has prompted the Arabs to doubt his impartiality. Thus his strategy, unfolding erratically under these contradi-

leaders might be ousted by the radical forces. Another Middle East war, it said, would, among other things, disrupt the flow of Arab oil to the United States, Western Europe and Japan. Thus, "peace-making efforts should henceforth concentrate on negotiations of a comprehensive settlement," to be built around three main points:

First, the Israelis would withdraw from the occupied Arab territories, with only such "modifications" as would be acceptable to the parties to the dispute.

Second, the Arabs would "recognize and respect the sovereignty" of Israel, and would progressively develop political and economic relations with the Jewish state.

Third, the Palestinian demand for self-determination would be satisfied through the establishment of either an independent Palestinian state or an autonomous Palestinian entity federated with Jordan -- but only if the Palestinians, too, recognized Israel's existence.

The report avoided any endorsement of the PLO by sidestepping the question of how the Palestinians would be represented at the peace conference. But it called for Soviet participation, and it cautioned against any attempt by the United States to "lay down a detailed blueprint of what it believes a settlement should be." That last bit of advice would be disregarded by the Carter Administration, with controversial consequences.

In the summer of 1976, Brzezinski, now a name in the Carter camp, decided to improve his knowledge of the Middle East by visiting Israel. The trip made him more sensitive to Israel's feelings of vulnerability, and he concluded that a future Palestinian entity on the West Bank and in Gaza ought to be demilitarized and associated with Jordan -- with, perhaps, security outposts retained by Israel during a transitional period. Oddly enough, one of the Israeli political figures who appealed to Brzezinski most was the hard-line opposition leader, Menachem Begin; their Polish background provided a bond. Brzezinski would later portray Begin as "a statesman who has had the unique privilege of struggling for the ideals of his people." Begin's accolade for Brzezinski, voiced to an Israeli friend, was less oratorical: "He's a clever guy."

THE GENESIS OF A POLICY

It is one thing to construct foreign policy models; it is another to devise an actual policy. At their initial post-election conferences, Carter, Brzezinski and Cyrus Vance agreed that the new Administration would have to adopt an active approach to the Middle East, along the lines proposed in the Brookings report, which Carter apparently had not yet read. But they also decided that Vance should tour the Middle East as soon as possible after the inauguration to sound out the region's leaders and consider how their differences could be bridged.

But portents of friction between the United States and Israel were already being felt. Just before the inauguration, State and Defense Department officials leaked word that Israel had sold French Super-Mystere fighter-bombers equipped with American engines to Honduras, in apparent violation of United States law that forbids a country furnishing with American military material to another country. Just after the inauguration, the Administration, citing the same law, vetoed an Israeli plan to sell Ecuador 24 Israeli-made Kfir fighter-bombers equipped with American engines.

A couple of days later, a State Department spokesman rebuked the Israelis for drilling for oil on occupied Egyptian territory in the Gulf of Suez; the operation, he said, was "not helpful to efforts to get peace negotiations under way." More than that, Carter was reported to be ready to reverse President Ford's promise to provide Israel with CBU-72's -- concussion bombs developed in Vietnam to destroy concrete bunkers and missile sites.

These gestures served as a signal to the Israelis and their American-Jewish supporters that Carter might not be as "unequivocally" committed to Israel as he had asserted during his campaign. Or, as a pro-Israeli lobbyist put it: "We could tell that he was headed in the wrong direction."

Nor did Cyrus Vance's Middle East tour turn up many signs of concord. The Israelis and Arabs offered him divergent interpretations of the sort of peace that might follow a settlement, and they dis-

agreed on the extent to which Israel would have to evacuate the occupied territories. The Arabs generally favored a reconvened Geneva forum, mainly to prevent each other from seeking separate deals with Israel. The Israelis preferred a continuation of Kissinger's piecemeal approach, in the belief that they could make separate deals with the Arabs, as they had with Egypt on the Sinai. So Vance ended his journey with the predictable observation that "there is a very hard and difficult road ahead." The trip's principal accomplishment was to set the stage for the region's leaders to file into Washington for talks with the President himself.

'OPEN-MOUTH DIPLOMACY'

The first to arrive, in early March, was Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, and the visit was a disaster. Carter was brimming with confidence; Rabin was even more morose than his usual self. Weakened at home by a rash of political scandals and the pre-election maneuvering of some of his own Labour Party comrades, Rabin was hard put to make the concessions Carter considered necessary to generate momentum for progress. This "negativism" exasperated the President and left him with the impression that it was primarily Israeli intractability that blocked a settlement. And a series of diplomatic blunders on his own part served to worsen the strain.

Speaking extemporaneously at a welcoming ceremony at the White House lawn, Carter, for the first time as President, reiterated his campaign pledge to support "defensible borders" for Israel -- thus appearing to underwrite the Israeli refusal to relinquish the West Bank, Gaza, the Golan Heights, East Jerusalem and large parts of the Sinai. Rabin was elated. Within hours, however, Administration officials revised Carter's remarks. Fearing that the President's sloppy use of the controversial code phrase would infuriate the Arabs, they urged reporters to avoid a "narrow definition" of "defensible borders," and emphasized that the United States still stood by United Nations Resolution 242, which called on Israel to pull out of the occupied areas in exchange for "secure and recognized" boundaries. Nothing had changed.

Irrked by this deflation of his hopes, Rabin was alarmed a couple of days later when Carter said at a news conference that "stabilization" of the Middle East "would involve substantial withdrawal of Israeli's present control over territories and only 'minor adjustments' of Israel's pre-1967 frontiers. Appearing on a New York television show soon afterward, Rabin asserted "without any qualification" that Israel "will not return" to its old borders. The episode had a stiffening effect on the Arabs as well. Sadat, speaking in Cairo, declared: "We will not cede a single inch of Arab land."

Carter placated the Israelis, to a degree, by publicly defining his concept of peace as one involving a full range of normal relations between Israel and the Arab countries -- free trade, tourist travel, cultural exchanges and the like. But a week later, speaking at a town meeting in Massachusetts, the President mused Rabin again by calling for a Palestinian "homeland." Months afterward, Brzezinski would explain to me that "homeland" had been intended by the President to be a deliberately ambiguous word, signifying an area in which the Palestinians could live with "some stable sense of identity." At the time, however, nobody knew what to believe. Israeli and Arab diplomats scurried around Washington, confused even further by advice from Administration officials to concentrate less on the details of the President's remarks than on his overwhelming desire for peace. Suspicion flowered. As one diplomat said to me: "Half the people in the Carter Government don't understand the language of the Middle East, and the other half are trying to change it."

Voted out of office in May, Rabin would later attribute his party's defeat to having been put on the spot by Carter's disclosure of the American blueprint for a final settlement; and other Israelis insisted that Carter had violated an understanding with the Ford Administration -- that the United States would "coordinate" its Middle East policies with Israel.

Many American diplomats meanwhile were disturbed by what they had come to see as Carter's carelessness with sensitive diplomatic terms, and by his dismissal of nu-

anced phrases as "just semantics." State Department specialists were stunned by the President's disclosure of his Middle East program, which contradicted Vance's statement of only a few weeks earlier that the United States "should not come up with, or try to come up with, a specific plan." The specialists were concerned lest this "open-mouth diplomacy," as some of them called it, would invite rejections from Israel or the Arabs, or both, and thus thwart progress toward a Geneva conference. As one of these American officials put it: "There's probably a method to the madness. But I confess, all I see is the madness."

TILTING TOWARD THE ARAB WORLD

Next came the Arabs. Carter conferred in Washington, in April and May, with President Sadat, King Hussein and Crown Prince Faisal of Saudi Arabia, and, after the economic summit in London, he went to Geneva for a talk with President Assad of Syria. These sessions went smoothly, and seemed to have reinforced Carter's perception of Israeli stubbornness as the main obstacle to peace. This outlook, though never put into words, contributed subtly to a growing impression that the Administration was tilting toward the Arabs. Then, in early May, a document from the State Department convinced the Israelis and their American sympathizers that the Administration's support for Israel was on the wane.

In line with Carter's hopes of curbing the phenomenal global spread of sophisticated conventional weapons, a study conducted under the auspices of Leslie Gelb, head of the State Department's Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, recommended tighter controls on U.S. arms sales abroad. Exempted were the NATO allies, Japan, Australia and New Zealand. The study group had debated exempting Israel, and had decided against it on the ground that a loophole for the Israelis, who have no treaty relationship with the United States, would have to apply to other nations, such as Iran, South Korea and the Philippines, that are bound to the United States by military alliance.

Hardly had the outlines of the study reached Capitol Hill when Humphrey, Clifford Case, Frank Church and Jacob Javits -- proposed bipartisan amendments to the foreign-aid bill, urging that Israel be put in a special category. Carter was then in London, and his aides in Washington panicked, foreseeing another debilitating quarrel with Congress. Senator Henry Jackson, one of Israel's most ardent supporters, intervened. With the help of an assistant, Richard Perle, he drafted a statement that Carter, upon returning to Washington, issued almost word for word under his own name. Israel was characterized as one of those friendly countries that depend "on advanced weaponry to offset quantitative and other disadvantages in order to maintain a regional balance"; deciding what weaponry should go to Israel, and when, was left to Presidential discretion. Israel, in short, was granted de facto exemption from the recommended controls.

Carter's retreat before a blast of domestic politics was a lesson to Hamilton Jordan, his top political adviser. "The lines of the graphs are converging," he said succinctly to an associate. The Middle East, in other words, was not only a foreign-policy problem but a potentially explosive domestic issue. From now on, Jordan said, Middle East diplomacy would be monitored by his own White House staff.

That spring, however, what seemed most in need of monitoring was the President's zeal for his peace program -- a zeal that sometimes carried him astray. At a May 26 news conference, for instance, he returned to the Palestinians' "right" to a "homeland" and to compensation for their losses. These rights, he said, had been "spelled out" in Security Council resolutions that, in turn, had been endorsed by "every Administration since they were passed." White House officials scrambled in vain to document these assertions. The only resolution in favor of a Palestinian homeland that the United States had ever approved was the 1947 General Assembly resolution that partitioned Palestine between Arabs and Jews; the resolution calling for compensation was passed, also, with American approval, in

BACKLASH IN ISRAEL; DISMAY AT STATE

That spring, however, what seemed most in need of monitoring was the President's zeal for his peace program -- a zeal that sometimes carried him astray. At a May 26 news conference, for instance, he returned to the Palestinians' "right" to a "homeland" and to compensation for their losses. These rights, he said, had been "spelled out" in Security Council resolutions that, in turn, had been endorsed by "every Administration since they were passed." White House officials scrambled in vain to document these assertions. The only resolution in favor of a Palestinian homeland that the United States had ever approved was the 1947 General Assembly resolution that partitioned Palestine between Arabs and Jews; the resolution calling for compensation was passed, also, with American approval, in

the office of Philip Habib, the Under Secretary for Political Affairs, and it was handed to the State Department spokesman, Hodding Carter Jr., just in time for his midday press briefing. "Don't send me out there with this paper," the spokesman pleaded. But he went. Plainly designed to admonish the Israelis, the statement skipped the usual bow to the American sense of commitment to Israel, emphasized the need for a Palestinian homeland without referring to a Jordanian link, and replying directly to Begin, asserted that "no territories, including the West Bank, are automatically excluded from the items to be negotiated." Curiously enough, this White House initiative had been launched without advance consultation with Hamilton Jordan on its domestic impact, and there was immediate indignation within the Presidential political staff. Officials assigned to Jordan's monitoring operation blamed the move on Brzezinski and the State Department "Arabists," and warned that it would turn American Jews against Carter in increasing numbers.

The warning was prescient. Whatever its foreign-policy merits, the move, in its domestic aspects, proceeded from a miscalculation -- the belief that because many American Jews were then in anguish over Begin's victory, they would waver in their support of the Begin Government when Israel's security was involved. It is true that the American-Jewish community was apprehensive and divided over the prospect of a hardline Israeli regime headed by a man who had long been regarded by many of them as a fanatic. But by coming down hard on Begin, the Administration, to its surprise, closed the incident breach. The backlash to the State Department declaration was immediate. The White House mail was overwhelmingly hostile. Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, president of the American Jewish Congress, told Brzezinski in a personal letter: "I am fearful that present policy may lead needlessly to confrontation with Israel and with its friends in the United States." And this only a month before Begin himself was to arrive in Washington for exploratory White House talks.

Mindful of Rabin's disastrous visit four months earlier, Carter imposed a moratorium on official comments on the Middle East -- then broke it by inviting 40 American-Jewish leaders to the White House to discuss their differences. Impressed though they were by the Cabinet Room setting, and the presence of Mondale, Brzezinski and Vance, the Jewish spokesmen pulled no punches. "We come to you with grateful hearts," one of them said, "but our hearts are filled with fear."

Against this background, Begin's two days of talks with Carter were, as Kissinger was to quip, "doomed to success." Carter avoided saying anything that could ruffle the conference, and Begin went out of his way to appear flexible. Cordiality and optimism filled the air. Carter agreed to supply Israel with such military equipment as F-16 fighter aircraft and high-speed hydrofoil patrol boats. Begin bolstered the President's hopes for the convening of a Geneva conference as early as October, but he drew the line at PLO representation in any form, saying that the aim of the Palestinian organization "is to destroy our country and to destroy our people."

To Administration specialists, it was clear that there were two points in Carter's three-point outline that Begin would not accept -- major Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories and creation of some sort of Palestinian homeland. The President, however, was determined to preserve the meeting's cosmetic glow -- so much so that, a week later, asked about State Department charges that Begin had broken international law by legalizing three new Jewish settlements on the West Bank, Carter said, with gentle forbearance, "He, like myself, has run on campaign commitments. That doesn't mean that the settlements are right, but I think it would not be proper to castigate him unnecessarily."

Undeterred, Carter decided at a Saturday breakfast on June 25 with Mondale, Vance and Brzezinski to parry Javits and caution Begin by means of a firmly worded State Department declaration. Confronted by phone, Middle East specialists at the State Department and in the National Security Council drafted the declaration the following Monday. The final version was

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publicly with them on the notion of a pre-Geneva understanding, reasoning that "more than that can be resolved (beforehand), the less likelihood that we will run into a snag and obstacles." At the same time, chatting with reporters in Plains in his idiosyncrasy style, Carter said the PLO "might participate" at Geneva if it adopted United Nations Resolution 242 -- in other words, it recognized Israel.

This was the President's first, if conditional, endorsement of the PLO, and his decision to cross that line was prompted by two messages from Vance -- that the Arab would not consent to any compromise without a peace treaty toward the Palestinians, and that the Saudi Arabians had hinted to him that the PLO might modify its opposition to Israel's right to exist. But the President's move was, at best, premature. Later, an Administration expert would tell me: "All we got out of it was the PLO was a domestic headline that we didn't need."

In Jerusalem, Vance found the glow of the Washington meeting fading before the realities of the American role. Begin refused to deal with the PLO under any conditions, describing it as a group of "genocidists" who "should be treated like plagues and outlaws." And Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan, rejecting the idea of extensive Israeli territorial withdrawal, cracked a serious joke: "My Secretary, whenever you accept our views, we will be in full agreement."

Vance was not amused. He returned home persuaded that the Israelis, rather than the Arabs, were hindering progress. Carter shared that feeling, and expressed it pointedly to Begin. "I am not a Jew," he told a group of editors and publishers in the White House. "Any nation in the Middle East that proved to be intransigent would suffer, at least to some degree, the condemnation of the rest of the world." And despite his pledges that he would never pressure American aid to pressure Israel into acquiescence, he came close to doing just that.

Fearful of deeper Syrian involvement in the Lebanese civil war, the Administration had been trying that summer to promote a cease-fire between the rival Christian and Muslim factions. But the Israelis, out of concern for their own security, had been providing support for the Christian forces on Israel's northern border by directing artillery fire at the Palestinian positions. Soon afterward, Israeli units using American equipment crossed the border -- as Carter instructed, the American Ambassador, Samuel Lewis, to remind Begin in "diplomatic language" that the Israelis were violating United States legislation forbidding the recipient of American military assistance to deploy its equipment to another country. The Administration cautioned that the American aid program to Israel was in peril if Israel prepared to carry out its case to Congress. An operational cease-fire was averted when Lebanese hostilities ended -- theoretically -- in September, but relations between the United States and Israel remained tense.

The tension mounted when the Administration prodded Israel into assenting to Palestinian representation at a Geneva conference, then vetoed for December. The Palestinians would be part of a Pan-Arab delegation, presumably to camouflage any PLO identity. The formula was a juggling Israeli consent, but raised the backbone of American-Jewish activists, and the American Israel Public Affairs Committee planned to bomb some 2,000 prominent American Jews with mailings accusing Carter of "betraying Israel." A Harris poll then preparation discerned a slump in the President's standing with American Jews, from 57 per cent favorable in July to 60 per cent unfavorable in September. Aware of this atmosphere, Brzezinski warned Rita Hazare, a New York attorney who had worked on the Brookings report, that it would be a "family" for American Jews push toward a "confrontation" with Carter, since it would leave the President with no choice but to go to the country and explain that his policy was in our national interest, and in Israel's as well. Something akin to a show-up appeared to erupt in the Administrations next

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AN AVALANCHE OF CRITICISM

In the view of the Administration, there was nothing especially radical in notion of inviting the Russians to join in the search for peace in the Middle East.

(Continued on page 4)



Jimmy Carter (right) and Menachem Begin are all smiles during a meeting in Washington, D.C. last year.

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